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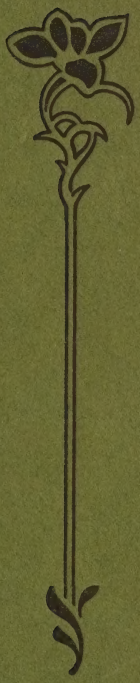
LORD SELBORNE

ADDRESS



DELIVERED BY

LORD SELBORNE

Before the Congregation
of the University of the
Cape of Good Hope, on
Saturday, 27th Feb., 1909

JOHANNESBURG:
R. L. ESSON & Co.

By permission of His Excellency

LORD SELBORNE.

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BEFORE THE CONGREGATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, ON SATURDAY, 27TH FEB., 1909

JOHANNESBURG:
R. L. ESSON & Co.

ADDRESS.

I do not stand before you to-day as High Commissioner for South Africa, nor as the Governor of a neighbouring Colony. I am here as a simple graduate of one University, to whom has been accorded the great privilege of addressing the congregation of another University. I am, therefore, free to speak untrammelled by constitutional responsibility. My words shall be my own and no one else's. My opinions will bind none but myself. No one else will be responsible in any degree for my words or for my opinions. That this exordium is not unnecessary I think you will agree when I tell you that I shall dare to take as my subject to-day the native question of South Africa.

Speaking on the native question at Pietersburg, in the Transvaal, in July, 1906, I ventured to observe that, while I had received a good deal of correspondence on the subject, and had seen frequent pronouncements in the press upon it, there was more vehement assertion than careful reflection in what I had read, and I took that opportunity of putting a few questions to which I hoped that some answer would be given to me by one or other of my correspondents. Those questions I will now recapitulate:—

1. Taking the native as he is, a human being in a certain stage of development, is the white man prepared to say to him that there is a certain point at which that development is to be arrested? Or is the white man not prepared to say this?

2. If the white man is prepared to say this, how does he propose to proceed so as effectively to arrest that development?

3. If the white man is prepared to say this, and believes that he can carry out his purpose, stripped of all embroidery, what does this attitude on his part really mean?

4. If the white man is not prepared to say this, is it his intention to leave the native severely alone to develop on his own lines, and to work out his salvation for himself unaided ?

5. If this is his intention, to what result will this policy inevitably lead ?

6. If this is not his intention, and if the white man admits that he has a personal responsibility in the matter, and that the native can neither be forcibly arrested in his natural development, nor be left severely alone to work out his development for himself, in what manner and in what direction does the white man propose to help and guide the native in his development ?

I am not prepared to apologise for these questions. I think they are questions which must be answered, and which cannot be shirked, and therefore I regret to have to record the fact that no correspondent has favoured me with an answer to any single one of them. I propose to take this opportunity of examining them and answering them myself.

The Bantu native, as we find him in South Africa, is a human being who has been in contact with civilisation for less than a century. When he first came in contact with the white man he was in a state of utter barbarism, and to-day the majority of South African natives have advanced but little beyond that point. A minority of them have, however, undoubtedly advanced beyond that point, and that in varying degrees up to and including a small band of men of marked intellectual capacity, who have become highly educated and civilised. It is impossible for us, who are sprung from races which were in contact with Roman civilisation before the Christian era, to look at questions from the same point of view as these Bantu races, with their totally different history. So far as we can form an opinion, our forefathers, 2,000 years ago, when they first came into contact with the Romans, were distinctly less barbarous than were the Bantu races when they came

into contact with the white man less than 100 years ago. Nor has the Bantu hitherto evinced a capacity for civilisation equal to that which our forefathers evinced from their first contact with it. We cannot tell what may be the development of the Bantu in intellect or character during the course of centuries. There may be, or rather there certainly will be, because there have been individuals who will catch up with the white man and show an intellect and strength of character which would be remarkable even in him; but, speaking generally, it is fair to say, that, so far as we can foresee, the Bantu will never catch up the European either in intellect or in strength of character. As a race, the white race has received a superior intellectual and mental endowment. On the European in South Africa, therefore, devolves as grave a responsibility as has ever been laid on human beings. As a race, he is as responsible for the future of the less endowed race which lives alongside of him as an individual father is for his children. The white man is the racial adult; the black man is the racial child.

Is the white man to approach the inter-racial problem of white and black by assigning to himself for ever one sphere, and to the black man another sphere, these spheres being fixed arbitrarily by himself and without reference to the laws of Nature? Is the white man to rule a line and say to the black man: "Thus far and no farther. No matter what Providence may propose for you, or with what qualities Providence may have endowed you, I am going to stand on one side of this line, and you are going to stand on the other. You will never be allowed to cross this line by any exercise of intellect or by any strength of character?"

I will assume for the moment, and for the sake of argument, that this question, the first of the six questions which I formulated at the beginning of my remarks, has been answered in the affirmative. My second question arises at once: "How, in that case, does the white man propose to proceed so as effectively to arrest the native's development?" If he were to cast behind him all scruples,

he could carry a policy of repression to great lengths. He could inflict an immeasurable amount of cruelty and injustice on the native, and he could indefinitely deteriorate his own character; but he would in the end quite inevitably fail in effecting his purpose. He would only be trying to do what the Inquisition and other self-appointed substitutes for Providence have attempted to do throughout the ages—chain the human mind and arrest its development—and he would as miserably fail as they did. The human mind is unchainable. Its development may be temporarily checked; it may be warped or it may be diverted into unnatural and noxious channels; but it can never be permanently arrested. Therefore, I say, that the attempt, at whatever sacrifice of what is noblest and best in human nature it might be urged, or however protracted, must fail.

The answer to my second question then is, if I may so express myself, that there is no answer to it; that is, that there exists no means by which the native's development can in the long run be effectively arrested. But let me still assume that my first question has been answered in the affirmative, and that some means or other have been devised to give effect to that answer, in order that we may be squarely faced with the third question: "What does this attitude on the white man's part really mean?"

Now let us examine the morality of this proposition. If slavery is moral and legitimate, then this proposition is moral and legitimate, but otherwise, stripped of all cant, the proposition is the old proposition of slavery, dressed up in a modern garb. No one nowadays proposes to buy and sell natives like cattle, or to make them work under the lash without payment; but, to say to a human being "no matter what intellect, what quality of industry, what force of character, or what other gifts you may have received from God, you will never be allowed to profit by them," differs from the proposition of the old slave trader only in form and in degree. In all essentials the attitude is the same, let there be no mistake about this; and if this is once understood, the position may be frankly

accepted, that no artificial barrier of any sort or kind can be legitimately placed in the path of the native to prevent his intellectual development according to the endowment he has received from Providence.

Lest those who do not know South Africans should misunderstand and blaspheme, let me say at once that there is no South African who holds this hypothetical view which I have been examining; but there are South Africans who, because they are reckless and do not think, utter sentiments which, when examined, will be found to lead to this conclusion or to mean nothing at all. It is against this absence of thought and recklessness of utterance that I desire to protest.

At the present moment I am not considering at all what share, if any, the native ought to take in the government of his country; that is the question of franchise. I will deal with that separately later. What I do mean, however, to lay down nakedly is, that if a native has the capacity and force of character to become a farmer or a mechanic or a professional man, the law should put no obstacle in his way. Every avenue of honest livelihood should be open to him as to the white man under the law.

So far I cannot doubt that all my hearers will be with me in deciding that the answer to the first of my questions must be "No," and that, that being so, the second and third questions fall to the ground.

This leads me to consider my fourth question: "If the white man is not prepared to say that the native's development should be arbitrarily arrested at a certain point, is it his intention to leave the native severely alone to develop on his own lines, and to work out his salvation for himself unaided?"

Surely the white man must admit that he has a responsibility for the native? What, then, should be his object in discharging it? Surely it can only be that the black man should develop naturally in the ways of Christianity and of civilisation? I have already pointed out that he would not be developing naturally if artificial

obstructions were put in his way; I will now add that he would not be developing naturally if any attempt were made to force the pace of his development. On the contrary, to do so would be egregious folly. Natural development will in most cases be very slow, but it will be all the more sure and the better for that.

I do not mean by this expression of opinion that the native should be left to work out his own salvation unaided, or that the white man, while not obstructing him, should leave him severely alone. On the contrary, in my opinion, it would be just as wise, and just as justifiable, for the individual father to leave his children severely alone, and let them bring themselves up, as for the white man to adopt this attitude. If the black man had never seen or heard of the white man, he might possibly in the course of ages have evolved a satisfactory civilisation on lines of his own; but, having been brought into contact with the white man, he must surely go dangerously astray unless the white man gives him all the help he can in his evolution. The question is not whether the black man is going to evolve or whether he is going to be educated. It is out of the power of the white man to settle that question, for the Bantu race will slowly evolve, and the more progressive of its members will acquire education, whatever he thinks or does. The real question is whether the white man is going sympathetically to influence that evolution, and, out of his more abundant experience, to direct that education? In self-defence for the sake of his children, and in fulfilment of his own moral responsibility, he cannot shirk the task.

No, the policy of leaving the native severely alone is an impossible one. Were it otherwise, my fifth question: "To what result will this policy inevitably lead?" would force itself upon us with the gravest insistence, and we should have to answer that the result would be a form of native development, guided only by the still dim light of Bantu aspiration—a form of development which would take no account of the white man's interests or even of his safety, no account of the general welfare of South African society with its two integral constituent factors of

white and black; one with which the white man, whom nature meant to be the brain of that society, would have abdicted all right of interference or remonstrance. Remember that imitativeness is one of the marked characteristics of the Bantu. If left to himself in contact with Europeans he will imitate the civilisation and religion of the Europeans, after his own fashion. The white man would have forfeited the right to be surprised at the appearance of a foolish and seditious native press, or at the spread of the spirit of what is called "Ethiopianism."

But let me pass on to my sixth and last question, and, taking it for granted that the white man has a personal responsibility in this matter, ask in what manner and in what direction does he propose to help and guide the native in his development?

How is he to perform his task? In the first place, as a wise man, he will take precautions not to make the task harder for himself than need be by making the native regard him with dislike and his efforts with suspicion. I will leave out of account altogether the unwise and hard things said by reckless and unthinking white men about natives; I will only ask white men to consider whether they have ever calculated the cumulative effect on the natives of what I may call the policy of pin-pricks? In some places a native, however personally clean, or however hard he may have striven to civilise himself, is not allowed to walk on the pavement of the public streets; in others he is not allowed to go into a public park or to pay for the privilege of watching a game of cricket; in others he is not allowed to ride on the top of a tramcar even in specified seats set apart for him; in others he is not allowed to ride in a railway-carriage except in a sort of dog-kennel; in others he is unfeelingly and ungraciously treated by white officials; in others he may not stir without a pass, and if, for instance, he comes, as thousands of natives do, from the farm on which he resides to work in a labour district—(an act which is highly beneficial to the State and commendable in the eyes of all white men)—he does not meet with facilities, but with elaborate

impediments. In the course of his absence from home he may have to take out at least eight different passes, for several of which he has the additional pleasure of paying, though he would be much happier without them; and it is possible that, in an extreme case, he may have to conform to no fewer than 20 different pass regulations! Now, let a white man put himself in the position of a black man, and see how he would like it, and let him ask himself whether such regulations and laws really make his task easier?

Next, the white man must make up his mind what is to be his attitude on the question of education, on which it is so common to hear the statement that a native is spoilt by Christianity or by education, and most spoilt when he is both a Christian and educated. Now this very sweeping assertion requires examination. I shall show presently what foundation there is in statistical fact for it; but I will say at once that, on *a priori* grounds, I should expect the facts to give some colour to such an impression. If a native turns out badly, and he is educated, or a Christian, or both, the fact is at once noted, whereas, if the native is a thoroughly satisfactory character the fact, whether he happens to be Christian or educated is not noted. Why should anyone suppose that all native Christians are likely to be good Christians, any more than all white Christians are good Christians, or that, bearing in mind the history of each race, an educated native is not more likely to misuse his education than an educated European? What is amazing is the want of imagination of some of the white people in South Africa. They constantly judge the native from their own standard or even from a higher standard than that which they themselves acknowledge. The Christian or educated native of to-day is not really to be compared with the Christian or educated Englishman or Boer of to-day, but with the ancestors of either as they were to be found in the forests of Northern Europe or of Britain fifteen hundred years or more ago; and even that comparison is not a fair one to the native, because the ancestor of the white man who came into contact

with Christianity and education fifteen hundred years ago was a more highly developed human being than the South African native when he first came into contact with Christianity and education less than one hundred years ago. But, taking the comparison on that basis, does the South African white man really imagine that, when his progenitor was first converted fifteen hundred years ago, he at once became a model saint? Is it not possible that the average European, when first Christianised or educated, was no better than the average South African native when first Christianised or educated? "But," say the critics, "the native would be all right if he were left uneducated!" Now, this statement, repeated over and over again, is a notable example of the manner in which some South Africans talk about the native question without giving themselves the trouble of thinking at all, for their receipt, that the natives should not be educated, could only be fulfilled if the utterer of the sentiment and every other white man, bag and baggage, were removed from South Africa; and very imperfectly fulfilled then, for the past can never be recalled, or the effects of past contact be undone.

The very moment that a native comes into contact with the white man his education has begun, if it is only with the storekeeper in the Government location; much more when he lives on a farm; and still more when he comes into domestic service, say, on the Witwatersrand. There his education goes on with a vengence, and if that is the only education he receives, who, in his senses, will believe that the native, uninstructed and unguided, will pick up anything from the white man but what is bad. Missionaries, like other people, make mistakes. Natives have often been educated on unsound lines. But, instead of the missionaries and the teachers being the subject of reprobation by their South African fellow-whites, they, in fact, should be regarded as the people who have saved the situation, because they are the people who have taken far the most trouble, and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something of good.

Again and again I have had the privilege of seeing in their homes highly educated and cultured missionaries who have passed their lives among savages for no other reason than the desire to serve their God and their fellow-men, those homes being often in a fever-and-sun-stricken wilderness; and it excites my anger and contempt to hear them denounced by unthinking, and, sometimes, frankly selfish critics sitting in their homes where they are surrounded by all the amenities of European civilisation.

Again, the question of whether a native, who wants to receive education, shall receive it or not, is not one in which the South African white has any say at all, unless he is prepared to adopt the slave policy, which I have already examined, and which he as a Christian and civilised man utterly repudiates. Unless he is going to restrict the native from learning certain things by penal laws, the native who wants to learn those things will learn them. South Africa is to-day covered with schools of sorts, conducted by the natives themselves, and often indifferently conducted; and there are an unknown number—I am told several hundreds—of South African natives, drawn from every tribe between the Cape of Good Hope and the Zambesi who have found their way to the United States of America to acquire that education which they intend to have, and which they could not get in South Africa.

The question the South African has got to ask himself is, not whether the native who wants education is to be educated, but whether he, the white man, will influence and control that education, or whether it is to be controlled and influenced by imperfectly trained—and sometimes disaffected—natives in South Africa or by negroes in the United States of America, whose general mental attitude is not precisely sympathetic with that of the South African white.

But I wish to go further, and examine what truth there is in the assertion that natives who have been carefully educated by white missionaries always turn out badly.

Let us get away from assertions and seek for facts. Let us have a census of the gaols of South Africa, and find out how many of the criminals are mission boys, and how many are not. The only contribution to this question of which I know is certainly a remarkable one. It is a paper read by the Rev. A. E. le Roy, of the American Zulu Mission, before the South African General Missionary Conference, Johannesburg, 9th July, 1906. He had taken the trouble to trace all the boys from his mission, who were working in Durban and Johannesburg respectively, just before the conference. He gave in every single case the name of the master, and the master's opinion of the boy. The result was that, out of 47 boys working in Durban their masters gave unqualified approval of 44, and in no case of the whole 47 was any complaint made of disrespect. In Johannesburg there were working 44 boys, and their masters expressed unqualified approval of 38 of them, and in no case of the whole 44 was any complaint made of disrespect, or of their being spoiled on account of their education. This isolated set of statistics can be considered as neither exhaustive nor conclusive, but it has the merit of being a contribution to fact and not to rhetoric.

The burden of proof is on the shoulders of the accusers. The question is, is the educated native boy worth employing? Is he a better character or a worse character, on the average, than the raw savage? Is he a better or a worse servant, on the average, than the raw savage? One set of statistics does not prove that the case for the educated native; but it does absolutely disprove the wholesale generalisation so freely made against him.

My own views on education are simply stated. I would never force education on any native who does not desire it, and desire it keenly; but where it is desired keenly, I would give it.

In the town locations the education should be of the ordinary type given in elementary schools, except that I would largely increase the amount of music taught, and

substitute it for some of those subjects which are taught to white children outside reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. Almost all natives have an ear for music, whereas many white children have not. As regards the country native, I would adapt my education so as to make him, above all things, a skilled agricultural labourer. There is no form of work for which a native is so suited as agricultural labour. One of the greatest wants of the South African farmer is good agricultural labour. As a good agricultural labourer the industrially-trained native will come less into competition with the white man than in any other sphere of work, and the agricultural labourer who is thrifty should be able to develop into a peasant farmer.

As regards higher education for the few who insist upon having it, I would certainly provide it at the South African Inter-Colonial Native College, the movement for which has already been started. The question, I again repeat, is not whether such education should be given to South African natives, but whether it should be given under the guidance of negroes in the United States of America or of the South African Governments?

One of the chief complexities of the native problem which confront the South African in evolving a policy in fulfilment of his responsibility arises from the fact that he has to deal with natives in so many different stages of human development. Those stages may be roughly classified into four groups—the tribal savage, the native living as a labourer on a white man's farm, the town native living in a municipal location, and the highly-educated native who has become, say, a minister of religion or a journalist, or a teacher. Of course, in reality, all these groups shade off by imperceptible degrees into one another.

Now let us consider the native in relation to the land. There are people in South Africa who say that in no circumstances should a native be allowed to own land, and there are people also who clamour for the

destruction of the tribal reserves, including the great Protectorates such as Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and say that they should be split up into white men's farms.

The impression of some philanthropists in Europe that all the land owned by whites in South Africa has been wrested by them from the natives who now live on the spot is, of course, historically untrue. In Cape Colony, for instance, the present natives—that is, the Kafir tribes—never came as conquerors west of the Kei River. When the white man landed in Cape Colony the inhabitants of the land were Hottentots and Bushmen, races which have now practically disappeared, but whose destruction the white man postponed rather than hastened, as it was the presence of the white man alone which kept the invading tribes of Kafirs to the east of the Kei River, tribes which would otherwise have overrun the whole country and exterminated the Hottentots and Bushmen. Similarly, when the emigrant farmers trekked across the Orange River, they found what is now the Orange River Colony practically a desert; it had been swept clean by the Umzilikazi and his Zulus in their great northward raid to escape from Tchaka. Again, when the emigrant farmers crossed the Vaal River, they found the scattered tribes now living in the Transvaal in danger of extermination from that same Umzilikazi, and they saved these Transvaal tribes from annihilation. Therefore, while it is true that certain parts of South Africa have been wrested by force of arms from the ancestors of the natives still living in those territories, it is also true that the greater part of South Africa has been occupied by white men without ousting therefrom the ancestors of any of the existing tribes, and that, further, in certain cases, the existing tribes owe the fact of their existence to the presence of the white man.

Does it follow therefrom, however, that the black man has no rights in the soil of South Africa? Those who hold the opinion I have described apparently think

so; but the proposition will not bear examination. I will take the case of the Protectorates, which are the subject of great unpopularity amongst many of the whites in South Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Basutoland has never been owned by white men; the Basutos, under Moshesh, selected the country in which to form their nation, and they have defended themselves there gallantly against the Zulus, against the Boers, and against the British. They are now British subjects, but not by conquest. They put themselves voluntarily into the hands of Queen Victoria. Now, on what conceivable grounds can it be argued that it would be just to divide that country among white farmers? It is urged that Basutoland is a standing menace to the whites of South Africa, and that it is round the Basutos that all the natives of South Africa will rally to fight an Armageddon against the whites. In the first place, I am an utter disbeliever in this Armageddon—that is, I utterly disbelieve that any such conflict is inevitable. Of course, if the white rulers of South Africa were sufficiently unjust and unwise, they could produce this or any other catastrophe, but, as I believe both in their sense of justice and in their experienced wisdom, I say confidently that such a conflict will not take place. Of those who glibly write about the Basutoland menace, I wonder how many have ever been into Basutoland, or know anything whatsoever about it? Now, I have had a special responsibility for Basutoland, and I have taken some trouble to know something about the country. I have been into Basutoland on several separate occasions, and I have crossed it from end to end. I know personally all the principal chiefs, and I have had many conversations with them both privately and at public pitsos. I say deliberately that the King has no more loyal subjects than the Basutos; that, if the Basutos are justly and wisely governed, they will cause no serious trouble; and that the one thing they most desire is to be left alone. They know perfectly well that no change could take place in their position except for the worse, and they will never wilfully give cause for making a change necessary.

The histories of Bechuanaland and Swaziland are, of course, different from that of Basutoland, but, in both alike, native reserves were secured to the natives as part of a general settlement, and not after war between white and black; and, indeed, the Bechuana chiefs voluntarily placed themselves in the hands of Queen Victoria as the Basuto Chief had done before them. It could not, therefore, be just to divide those reserves among white farmers, and I would say the same of the other reserves allotted to natives in the self-governing Colonies of South Africa.

To me it seems that the natives of South Africa have a right to a share in the land of South Africa; that the great Protectorates which I have named, and the other reserves, have served as part of a wise and statesmanlike distribution of the land as between the natives and the white men. They have acted as safety-valves, and there would have been more native wars in South Africa but for the existence of these Protectorates and Reserves. Can any reasonable man suppose that the natives of South Africa would, on the whole, have been so easily governed if nowhere had they been left a morgen of ground which they could call their own?

It is a common assertion, in respect of these Protectorates and Reserves, that, as they are preserves of tribalism, they are a sad barrier to the civilisation of the native. Now, the South African critic cannot have it both ways. He cannot be allowed, with one side of his mouth, to deny Christianity and education to the native on the ground that he is a much better man as a savage, and, with the other side of his mouth, to put forward as an argument why the Protectorates and Reserves should be divided into farms for white men that the tribal system prevalent in them is a sad deterrent to his civilisation! That the native in a town location, or on a white man's farm, becomes civilised more quickly than the native in a Protectorate or a Reserve is true, and that tribalism will not be permanently compatible with the civilisation of the native is certain; but when we are dealing with the unknown forces involved in the evolution of millions of human beings of a totally different type from ourselves,

while, on the one hand, I would strenuously deny the right and the power of the white man to keep civilisation from them, I would as strenuously assert that, the more natural and the less forced the pace at which that civilisation proceeds, the more sure and better that civilisation will be.

On the one hand, the path of escape from tribalism is the path of progress and civilisation, and so long as individual natives are subjected to the effects of tribal rule and kept from the path of escape from it, they are hindered in their efforts towards attaining a higher state of civilisation. It is, therefore, very important that no obstacles should be put in the way of individual natives thus endeavouring to emerge from the tribal state. In respect, however, of the far greater number of natives who have as yet no desire whatever to emerge from that tribal state, it is necessary still to preserve the tribal system for their sake, and to rule them through it. As a natural corollary to this, the authority of the Chief must in such cases, and probably for many years to come, though in a steadily decreasing number of instances, be supported. So long as his authority is not exercised in ways abhorrent to civilised law, and so long as the Chief is content to act not only as the paternal ruler of his tribe in matters of native custom, but also as the loyal officer of the Government, he is fulfilling a necessary part. It is essential that the Chief should be made to feel his full responsibility to the Government, and it is possible that the final transition out of the tribal state will be materially assisted by the gradual evolution of the original tribal chief, with no relation whatever to a civilised government, to the native officer of the Government who is regarded as such and nothing else.

From this point of view the Protectorates and the Reserves have fulfilled the important function of keeping the less progressive among the natives contented and quiet, while the more progressive have had an opportunity of entering the pathway of civilisation. I do not, however, admit that no progress towards civilisation can be made in the Protectorates and Reserves If the Basutos,

for instance, be taken as a tribe, while I do not think that among them will be found any educated native so "precocious," if I may put it that way, in his civilisation, as some of those to be found elsewhere in South Africa, yet it will be found that the tribe, as a whole, has, under the influence of the missionaries and officers of the Government, made clearly marked progress towards civilisation on natural and spontaneous lines. I have seen the same progress at work, and the progress more marked still, in the Bethany location in the Rustenburg District of the Transvaal, a very interesting station of the Hermansberg Mission, and I have no doubt but that the same thing is true of other places elsewhere in South Africa which I have not had the advantage of visiting. The civilising influence of a high-class resident white farmer and his family on the natives living on his land is usually excellent, but it is necessary and curious to note that even this receipt for the spread of civilisation is not infallible. For instance, according to my observations, the Mapoch natives scattered on the farms of the Transvaal, have been singularly little influenced by their environment. The time will come, though not yet, when tribalism will have ceased to fulfil any useful function even in the Protectorates and Reserves; but by that time the natives in those Protectorates and Reserves will be fitted and prepared to become the individval owners of the land in those Protectorates and Reserves.

Compared with the total area of land in South Africa, those areas from which the white man is excluded as a landowner are small; and I do not think it would be just on the plea of their existence to put legal impediments to individual ownership of land in the rest of South Africa in the way of civilised natives struggling to escape from tribal influences.

I will summarise the conclusions for which I have desired to enlist your sympathy as follows:—

1. That the white man would not be justified in placing any artificial impediment in the way of the evolution of the native towards civilisation.

2. That in the matter of education, the pace should not be forced, but that the white man should be prepared to help and guide the native who desires to obtain education.

3. That the native Protectorates and Reserves fulfil an important and necessary function, and that there would be no justification for dividing those Protectorates and Reserves among white farmers.

4. That no legal impediment should be put in the way of the individual civilised native to prevent him from becoming an owner of land.

5. That throughout the whole spheres of legislation and administration the white man should realise his responsibility for the evolution of the native.

If it is said that on such lines of policy the white man will not be able to hold his own against the black man in South Africa, I reply that the white man who says that is the traducer of his own race. For all purposes of rule, for all purposes of competition, the white race is endowed with qualities which make it superior to the black race. The superiority consists not only in having nearly 2,000 years' start in civilisation, but also in the intrinsic qualities of the white man's mind. I am, of course, speaking of the races as an aggregate and in the average. There are natives who are as wonderfully in advance of their race as was Plato in his day in advance of his. But the blacks in the aggregate are incapable of obtaining the mastery over the whites, except under the same conditions as those under which Dingaan obtained the mastery over Piet Retief; and the punishment inflicted for that murder on the whole Zulu army by four hundred farmers, armed with flintlock guns, is for ever typical of the superiority of the one race over the other, a superiority which has nothing to do with numbers, and never will have.

The civilised native of the year A.D. 2,000 will be less, not more, competent to master the white man than were the savage warriors of Dingaan competent to overwhelm the avengers of Piet Retief, and mere numbers will count no more in the future than they did in the past. The

evidence which comes from the United States of America, where the negro is equal before the law with the white man, where he has the opportunity of exactly the same education as the white man, is confirmatory of the truth of the general view which I have expressed. The fact that people talk with such admiration of a negro who has risen to prominence, shows what an extraordinary and unusual occurrence it is for a negro to emerge; if such a man had been a white man, he would not have been famous, because there are very many such among the white men of the United States of America. The average negro in the United States of America cannot compete successfully with the average white man in the United States of America on equal terms, either as statesman, soldier, doctor, lawyer, mechanic, labourer, or in any other capacity, simply because he is not his equal match in intellect or force of character. It is true that the Bantu and the negro are not the same race; but I maintain that the affinities between their main characteristics are amply sufficient to justify my confident assertion that nothing can destroy the advantage of the white race except its own deterioration. There will be a danger of that deterioration in South Africa if the energy and grit of the white man is molly-coddled out of existence by artificial protection against the competition of the black man, and if the white man surrenders without a struggle to the black man the larger portion of the field of honourable labour and existence on grounds of prejudice and privilege worthy of a mediaeval aristocracy, but scarcely consistent with the principles of a modern democracy. "Energy," that is the citadel of the white man's fortress, and no one can betray it but himself. My conviction that it will not be betrayed is based on the unshakeable rock of my belief in the grit of my fellow countrymen, Boer and British; but there are moments when I feel despondent, and that is whenever I meet a white man in whose mind *right has become wrong and wrong right*, and who has been taught to believe that certain forms of manual labour, everywhere else in the world regarded as honourable, are in South Africa dishonourable to a white man There, and there only, lies the danger.

I shall be told that miscegenation will be the inevitable result of the policy which I advocate, that to prevent miscegenation the races must be kept socially apart, and that to keep the races apart socially they must be kept apart educationally. Miscegenation is a detestable evil ; the white man who cohabits with a black woman cannot be too sternly reprobated by his race ; but this argument is cant. Miscegenation, in 99 cases out of a hundred, means not marriage but concubinage ; the less primitive the Bantu woman is, the less ready she will be to become the concubine of the European man ; and no amount of education in the Bantu woman will overcome the natural repugnance of our race to mixed marriages. But there is another long word over which we should do well to ponder—" assimilation." If the Bantu imitates the European, does the European never assimilate anything from the Bantu ? The more the Bantu is civilised, the fewer objectionable and unnatural traits there will be for the European to assimilate.

The next branch of the subject to the study of which the white man must address himself is the machinery through which he should give effect to his responsibility.

The more he studies this aspect of the problem which he has got to solve, the more impressed he will become with the importance of the part which the Government of the country will have to play in its solution. He will find that, in respect of the natives, responsibility comes closer home to the Government than at any other point of the whole field of administration, and most especially so whenever the natives are unrepresented in the Parliament. In those cases, indeed, the attitude of the Government towards members of Parliament in respect of native questions must be differentiated from what it is in respect of other questions. The Government is the trustee for the natives in those cases in a very special degree ; and although the mass of uncivilised or partially civilised natives do not realise that fact in the sense in which the words are here used, yet their attitude towards the Government is curiously consistent with that idea. It is apparent in almost every line, for instance, of

the Report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1907, that every evil under which the native population of Natal suffers, or thinks it suffers, is put down by the natives to the Government. In many cases the evil, or supposed evil, has arisen from causes unconnected with any action of the Government, yet it is alway credited to the Government by the natives, just as, in former days, they attributed to the Chief every good or ill which they enjoyed or suffered. Therefore it is that the Government in South Africa cannot afford to exclude from its purview any detail of native life or any aspect of native thought. It cannot shelve its responsibility on to a municipality or any other public or private body. It must try and look at every thing, little or big, which affects the natives, from the native point of view as well as from the white point of view.

It will be noticed that I draw attention to the responsibility of the Government and not of Parliament. I do so deliberately, because I think that the responsibility of the Government should be close and immediate, and that the responsibility of Parliament should be held in reserve, and because I wish to lay stress on an opinion which I believe to embody a profound truth. I hold that, where they are not represented in Parliament, then direct government by a Parliament of white men is the worst form of government for natives. On the other hand, indirect government by a Parliament of white men may, in the same case, be an excellent form of government for natives.

I will proceed to develop this idea. Such a Parliament represents whites only; in no sense does it represent natives, and the interests of the whites, whom the members of that Parliament do represent, are different from, and sometimes in actual conflict with, the interests of the natives. Again, although many members of such a Parliament will have some knowledge of natives, very few will have taken the trouble really to study native history, customs, thought, or character, and this will be true also of the constituents whom they represent. It follows that the legislation applied to natives under direct parliamentary

government will be sometimes unjust and often unwise. That injustice and unwisdom will sometimes be the result of selfishness, but usually of the simple lack of imagination, of ignorance, of thoughtlessness.

Apart from these considerations altogether, direct parliamentary government is a form of rule unintelligible to the mind of the tribal native. Its chief characteristic to native eyes appears to be the complete absence of those principles of government which the native best understands and most appreciates, that is, that government should be personal, consistent, and continuous. Parliamentary government is the very embodiment of impersonality; and inconsistency and discontinuity are risks inseparable from it because it is of the very nature of a Parliament that the persons who compose it should often change, and with the change of persons there inevitably follows a change of ideas. Parliamentary government was devised by Europeans in Europe as the best method of combining order with liberty, and it was only evolved by them after the bitter and cruel experience of generations. "*Coelum, non animum, mutant,*" and, when Europeans left Europe for America, or Australia, or Africa, they naturally carried their institutions with them. But what conceivable grounds can their be for imagining that these institutions, like a ready-made suit, can fit the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, who differ from those Europeans in history, character, customs, and thought, as much as two races can possibly differ from one another?

The effect on the tribal native of such direct parliamentary government is just what anyone would suppose who pauses to think. He is bewildered by it; he is troubled by the absence of any permanent personality to which he can look as the authority to command his obedience and respect. The King he understands, and to him he clings; but he is six thousand miles away. With the Governor, as the King's representative, he feels he might be able to get on; but by a rule which he cannot be expected to understand (because it is the essential and fundamental feature of the constitution which the white man evolved for himself in Europe), he

finds that the Governor acts by the advice of Ministers. These Ministers come and go, and, to the native, the changes among them are incomprehensible. New laws are constantly made by the Parliament, in which these Ministers sit, and old ones are amended or repealed ; the policy of one year is reversed the next, and the conservative mind of the native is perplexed beyond endurance. He gives up in despair any attempt to understand what it all means, and becomes suspicious and sulky. If anyone thinks that this picture is over-coloured, I would refer him to the pages of the Report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1907. Surely there is a reason for pause and reflection, when a Natal native, giving evidence before that Commission, allowed himself in his bitterness to exclaim that he would prefer the days of Tchaka to the days of parliamentary government.

Personality, consistency, and continuity are conditions essential for the wise and successful government of tribal natives, and as those essential conditions cannot be provided under such a system of direct parliamentary government as I am considering, I hold that I am justified in asserting that direct parliamentary government is the worst form of government for natives in a tribal or semi-tribal condition, and that the more those native are aggregated in tribal and uncivilised masses the more unsuitable it is.

I have now to make good my second point tha indirect Parliamentary government is, on the other hand, probably the best form of government open to our adoption for those same natives.

I have hitherto laid stress on the Government as opposed to the Parliament as the instrument to which we must look for the successful solution of this problem, and yet the Government, or rather that all-important part of it, the Cabinet, on whose advice the Governor-in-Council must act, is itself a reflection of the opinion of Parliament and inevitably shares its points of weakness, as well as its points of strength. How, then, do I suggest that the worst form of government can become the best through the mere interposition of its own reflection ?

The English language is often loose and slovenly in its use of terms, and the word " government " is a sad

illustration of that fact. In the present instance it means both the process of ruling the natives and also the instrument by which that process is to be effected. Still worse, we use the word in respect of that instrument in at least three different senses. We may mean the Governor-in-Council, or the Cabinet alone, or the whole machinery of administraton, Governor, Cabinet, and Civil Service. If we use the word in this latter sense, we shall find that through the instrumentality of the Government we can provide a personal, consistent, and continuous system of rule for the natives; that we can eliminate those features of our European system which are wholly unsuitable for native purposes, and yet preserve to Parliament a control which will be none the less real because it is held in reserve and is therefore indirect. If to Parliament is preserved unimpaired the power to select the men to whom the government of the natives will be entrusted, the exclusive control of the purse where those whom it represents are taxed, a control over legislation, and the power to intervene, if those whom it has trusted abuse their authority or are pursuing a policy of which it disapproves, and if, on the other hand, those whom Parliament has trusted are given an assured position subject to good behaviour, if their relations with the natives are personal and continuous, if they are allowed to pursue the details of administration without interference, and if their views are allowed great weight in respect of legislation affecting the natives, then the problem is solved and indirect Parliamentary government is shown to fulfil the required conditions, and therefore to be the best possible form of Government for natives under the conditions which we are contemptating.

The question now resolves itself into this: "How is the Government to combine with that Parliamentary system which is necessary for the whites that personal, consistent, and continuous system of rule which is necessary for natives?"

I maintain that the problem is not insoluble, but that it can be solved if the Government is equipped with a strong Native Affairs Department, to which it will give

its whole-hearted support against the ill-judged meddling or the ill-informed criticism of any section of the public, both in its central administration and in the persons of the Native Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners scattered throughout the country. Under these conditions, then, at the centre of the State and in each district, will be provided that personal, consistent and continuous system of rule which the native requires.

Whether the head of the Native Affairs Department should be a single civil servant or the chairman of a board of two or three is a question which should be settled according to the amount of work to be done; but whether one, or two, or three in number, the Head Commissioner or Commissioners should be the very best men who can be found for the work. They should be appointed by the Governor-in-Council; that is, by the Cabinet on whose advice the Governor acts; that is, by the Parliament on whose confidence and support the Cabinet depends for its existence. Once appointed, they should hold office on the same terms as the judges, and they should be nearly as well paid. They should not be tied to their office, but should be assisted with such a staff as would leave them free, not only always to grant an interview to natives of importance who came to the seat of Government, but also to go about the country and pay periodical visits to the different districts. There should be no Minister for Native Affairs; the Prime Minister himself, and no one else, should be responsible to Parliament for the work of the Native Affairs Department. It should not be necessary for him to give that department constant and detailed attention; on the contrary, the department should be left free to carry on the detailed work of native administration without interference. The Prime Minister should only satisfy himself that the general principles being followed are sound, and give to the work of the department a general superintendence. The Cabinet should consult the permanent head or board on all proposed legislation affecting the natives, and lay before Parliament their reports upon it, and the intervention of Parliament should only be invoked when the Cabinet considers that the line

of policy being pursued by the department is incompatible with the general interests of the State. The department should be left free to recruit its own officers, and only the best material should be admitted to its service. It has also been suggested that Parliament should appoint a special council of men of European descent to advise the Government on all proposed legislation for natives and to draft its own native laws for it. This suggestion is well worthy of consideration.

The question of the franchise, or of representation, remains to be considered. This is a question the calm consideration of which has been obscured by excessive sentiment on the one side and violent prejudice on the other. It has been suggested on the one side that natives have the same right to the franchise under the same condition as white people, which in the Transvaal would mean that every male native of 21 years of age who is a British subject and has been six months residence in the country should have a vote. The proposition has only to be stated to expose its naked absurdity.

The most favoured scheme is to raise the qualification of all voters so as to ensure in every case the possession of a certain amount of property and of a certain amount of education. This proposal may be good or bad; it is not my business to examine it; but I do plead for a reconsideration of the real principle at issue in this matter, and I would remind the friends of the native franchise that far the greatest danger to which it can be exposed is that the privilege should fall into the hands of natives obviously unfitted to exercise it. Therefore I desire to ask this question: "Of what can any statutory qualifications of property or education be a test in the case of a native?" Mr. Cecil Rhodes was the author of the famous formula, "Equal rights for all civilised men," and to that formula I am proud to give my adhesion. The whole question is, "What is a civilised man?" Can the answer be furnished by compliance with a statutory definition of property and education? I say that it cannot, and that the question cannot be

answered by any such artificial test. A civilised man is a man who habitually lives and conducts his life in a certain way, not a man who possesses a certain amount of education or a certain amount of property.

Qualifications based on education or property are purely arbitrary, and they have been arrived at in the case of white men whose civilisation is not a subject of uncertainty at all as a rough-and-ready method of separating those civilised men who are better qualified to have a voice in the government of the country from those civilised men who are less qualified.

Before proceeding to enquire how the natives' fitness for the franchise can be subjected to a genuine test, let us first consider what is the history of the white man's franchise.

I will take the history of England, as that is the history of my own country, and therefore the one I know best, and as that in which Parliamentary institutions had their first birth.

Now, Parliamentary institutions in England are 550 years old, and yet the bulk of the population, white working men, have not yet had a vote for 50 years! If, in the case of a country which came into contact with Roman civilisation nearly 2,000 years ago, and which has actually had Parliamentary institutions for 550 years, the great bulk of the population has only been considered fit for the exercise of the franchise for less than 50 years, how absolutely absurd it is to suppose that the natives of South Africa, the great majority of whom have not been in contact with any civilisation for 100 years, should be fit to exercise the franchise on the same basis as the white man of the country, by extraction either British, or Dutch, or French, or German, all nations whose first contact with civilisation dates back to Roman times before the Christian era? No; the natives of South Africa must be led up to the franchise in exactly the same gradual way as the white men were, and, in my opinion, it is a mistake to seek for a system which will apply equally and simultaneously to natives as to white men.

On the other hand, I am not with those who say that the natives require no system of representation whatever. Far from it, because I do not believe in the possibility of the white men, however good their intentions, being able to rule the natives wisely unless the natives have an opportunity of being heard and expressing their views on what concerns them most.

In respect of those parts of South Africa where there is as yet no native franchise, I would admit to a voter's privileges any natives who have really reached the average level of civilisation of the white man. The question is: How to judge whether these people have reached the standard of civilisation. And who shall be judges? I suggest that no stereotyped test will meet the case, and that the only authority which could be trusted to decide such a contentious question truly and impartially is a Judge or Judges of the Supreme Court, nominated by the Governor-in-Council for the purpose. To such a tribunal a native might make application for the franchise, and on him would rest the burden of proof to show that, by his general standard of living and conduct, he was a civilised man. On being satisfied of the civilised habits of the applicant, the Judge would order his name to be included on the roll of voters, and that native would remain a voter for the rest of his life, provided always and of course that he fulfilled the same conditions or qualifications as are enacted in the case of a white man; but the franchise should not descend by inheritance till the third consecutive generation had been reached of enfranchised natives leading a monogamous and civilised existence.

Further, I would supplement these provisions for the enfranchisement of the civilised native by special provisions for the expression of opinion of unfranchised natives on whatever concerns their welfare. I would provide for the summoning of an adequate representation of the natives at periodic intervals, to meet the Permanent Head or Board of the Native Affairs Department, and I would allow these gatherings of natives to express in the freest manner, their opinion on all that concerns

their welfare. I would give no power whatever to such gatherings; but I would give complete freedom of speech so long as it was respectful, and I would give these gathering a statutory existence as Native Councils.

I do not think it would be wise to summon to such a gathering representatives of all the different tribes and conflicting native interests in any one Colony at one time, and at one place. My idea is rather that the representatives of the different interests and different localities should meet the Permanent Head or Board of the Native Affairs Department at different times and at different places. I would, in fact, establish numerous Native Councils. For instance, there might be one for each distinct tribal district, where the proper people to voice native opinion would be the Chiefs and Headmen. But the interests of natives living in municipal locations are quite different from the interests of natives living in the tribal state, and I would allow the natives living in such locations, grouped from selected geographical areas, to elect representatives to meet the Permanent Head or Board of the Native Affairs Department in Councils of their own. And so with any other group of natives with distinct interests.

In conclusion, let me say a word about the coloured people. Our object should be to teach them to give their loyal support to the white population, and to share with them their burthen of responsibility for the natives. It seems to me sheer folly to classify them, as some persons do, with natives, or, by treating them as natives, to force them away from their natural sympathy with, and allegience to, the whites into making common cause with the natives. To attempt to take this line seems to me also unjust. There are many coloured people who are white inside, though they may be coloured outside. There are others who, although differing from whites in character, are quite white outside. There are some, indeed, who are quite white inside and outside, in character as well as in colour. The problem of their treatment is, in fact, sadly complicated by the way in which they vary in every shade of character and colour, from pure white inside and outside to pure black inside and outside.

I maintain that the wise and just policy is to give the coloured people the benefit of their white blood, not to lay the stress on the black blood, but to lay the stress on the white blood, and to make any differentiation between them and the whites the exception and not the rule.

It follows from this expression of opinion that I would give the coloured man the franchise on the same terms as the white man, but I would insist upon his first passing the same test of civilisation before a Judge or Judges of the Supreme Court, as I have suggested in the case of the native. Such a test is absolutely necessary, because there is a proportion of the coloured population which has reverted to the type of their uncivilised ancestors, and that proportion must be excepted from the privileges of the franchise and eliminated from any share in the government of the country. The test would be no hardship and carry no indignity to the coloured men, who would be able to show that they had led a consistently civilised life in no way differing from that of the white man of corresponding station. Once a coloured man had passed this test then the qualification for the franchise on equal terms with the white man should descend by inheritance, and without a renewed test to his sons, unless he had been so foolish as to marry an uncivilised native woman.

Gentlemen, I have done; I have said all that is in my mind, but believe me when I say that I have not desired to speak dogmatically. I have approached the subject with all humility, because I know how vast and difficult it is and how ignorant and inexperienced I am. Of one fact, however, I am certain, and that is that it is the most difficult problem which the people of South Africa have to solve, and that the welfare of your children is dependent upon its right solution.

I believe that everyone who loves South Africa is bound in honour to make what contribution he can to the solution of the problem, and I have desired to make my contribution as a simple citizen, and at a time when I cannot escape the correction of erroneous views, and when I can profit by the criticisms of those who are better informed than myself.